INTRODUCTION TO THE EXCERPT

FROM WEBSTER'S

"SERVANTS OF APARTHEID"

This paper was first published in 1981 under the title 'Servants
of Apartheid? A survey of social research into industry in South Africa'
(Rex: Apartheid and Social Research, pp. 85-113). In a note written
during July 1986, Webster says the following about this paper:

This was one of a number of papers commissioned by UNESCO in 1978
and published by UNESCO in 1981. In a number of areas events have
overtaken this paper. The most dramatic is the case of restrictions
introduced under the state of emergency declared on 12th June 1986.
These provisions go well beyond any obstacles identified in this
paper.

Webster also refers readers of this excerpt to two further papers
written by himself which develop the topic further. The first was
published in Perspectives on Education in July 1982. The second was
delivered at a one-day workshop on labour studies in South Africa (on
the 25th October 1985 at the University of the Witwatersrand). "Both
papers," writes Webster, "take my argument beyond this initial attempt
to examine the emergence of social science in South Africa."

We have chosen to reproduce the bulk of "Servants of Apartheid"
in this issue of Psychology in Society for two reasons. In the first
place, the debate opened by Webster is of central importance to the
central theme of this issue and his paper provides a frame for the
papers which follow it. In the second place, the excerpts published
here bring the core of Webster's argument to a number of readers, par-
ticularly psychologists, who have not encountered it before.

The abridging of this article was done entirely by the Johannesburg
editorial group which takes responsibility for any lack of clarity
or distortions which may have resulted.

Excerpt from "Servants of Apartheid"

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It has become commonplace in the last two decades to argue that much of
industrial sociology is 'managerial sociology'. By labelling sociology as
'managerial', it is being suggested that sociology is being used, to put it
simply, to facilitate management's task of increasing the profitability of
the enterprise. For Merton: 'of the limited body of social research in
industry, the greater part has been oriented towards the needs of management
(1957: 625)'. Alan Flanders, summing up the literature in industrial and
organizational sociology, writes that it does not study how 'to make
management formally more accountable to the managed' but rather the
'employees more accountable to the management (1970: 131)'. Loren Baritz
(1965), concluding his comprehensive history of the use of social science in
American industry, was to label social scientists as the servants of power.

In trying to account for the 'managerial' nature of industry
sociology, at least four different explanations are usually offered.
Firstly there is the argument of the essentially middle-class social
background of the sociologist.

Secondly, there is the widespread acceptance of capitalist values by sociologists. Thus Burns writes that 'frequently sociologists may accept more or less uncritically the aim of making industrial and business undertakings more efficient or less troublesome as instruments of private profit-making - with very few exceptions they tend to accept the existence, values and purposes of industry and individual undertakings at their face value (p. 185).'

In the third place, 'this (managerial) bias', Wiendick argues, 'can probably be explained in terms of a sponsorship effect, since most industrial research is paid for by management to solve management's problems (1979: 231-2).' Or: ...access to industrial undertakings for research purposes is only granted by the controlling authorities when they are assured that the research will further the interests of the establishment (Burns, p. 195). 'Therefore', says Brown, 'the problems to be studied are restricted to those preoccupying the clients (1967: 41).'

A final explanation for the direction taken by research into industry is the manner in which it can be used to build up a career in the university. 'It is true that professors certainly welcome the small increases in salary that may come with new research activities and consultantships - the ambitious type of consultant is able to further his career in the university by securing prestige and even small-scale powers outside it (Mills, 1959: 94).'

Clearly, evidence can be found of managerial bias in industrial sociology to substantiate any one or all of these explanations, yet none of them would explain why industry turned to social science at a particular stage in the development of capitalism. Foucault has suggested that 'the historical emergence of each one of the human sciences was occasioned by a

problem, a requirement, an obstacle of a theoretical or practical order (p. 345).' What was the 'problem' that led to the emergence of industrial sociology? In the first place, argues Baritz, the increase in the size of the firm made the manager 'desperate in his need for assistance - to manage the organization of his firm (1965: 7)'. However, the focus of Baritz's explanation for research into industry is not only on developments internal to industry, but also on the growth of organized labour. Describing the massive increase in union membership from 3 million in 1914 to 15 million in 1945 in the United States of America, Baritz suggests that management began to realise that 'the more thoroughly they understood their workers, the less chance would there be to make those drastic errors which had nurtured unionism. If the social scientists were right an understanding of human behaviour would show how to control men'.

To deal adequately with the challenges facing management, it would be necessary to show how 'capitalism wrenched itself out of the paralysing fetters of the outmoded free market system and on to the open ceiling economics of monopoly capitalism. (Sohn-Rethel, 1978: 147).' However, the concern of this paper is not to show how scientific management is introduced to facilitate capital accumulation in South Africa, but rather to show how management, faced by various challenges, turns increasingly to harness the wider intellectual resources of the social scientific community. What is suggested is that a dynamic interaction exists between structural change in the economy, particularly the challenge of Black labour, and the emergence and growth of social research into industry.

Social research into the mining industry begins in the 1930s when, faced by a profitability crisis and competition for labour from manufacturing

industry, the mining industry turned to more 'scientific' methods of management. Industrial psychologists contributed in four main areas. The first task was to develop a series of simple repetitive tests to assist in the placement of new recruits into the categories of semi-skilled, unskilled and 'boss-boys'. The second was to introduce more systematic methods of acclimatizing a mineworker to the extremely high temperature underground. The third strategy was training of workers through the standardization of all jobs. Finally, the system of labour control operating through the compounds was increasingly streamlined and bureaucratized.

The relationship established in the 1930s was to grow more rapidly with the crisis of the 1940s. The rapid proletarianization of Africans as well as Afrikaners, had led to the growth of industrial unrest which culminated in 1946 when 71,000 miners went on strike. The war years saw a marked tendency towards increased and more intensive trade union activity. By the end of the war the Council of non-European Trade Unions (CNETU) claimed a membership of 158,000 and 119 unions, covering more than 40 per cent of the 390,000 Africans employed in commerce and industry.

Four developments expressed the growing relationship between social science and industry in the 1940s. First, there was the appointment in 1946 of J.D. Rheinalt-Jones, a leading exponent of the liberalism prominent among some public figures at the time, as adviser to Anglo-American. In a speech to the Institute of Personnel Management in 1948, Rheinalt-Jones stressed the inevitable growth of an organized African labour movement. He also stressed the need for personnel management to take five main considerations into account : '(a) the right selection of workers for specific kinds of work; (b) the training of workers in

occupations where training will yield greater efficiency; (c) improvements in working conditions and methods; (d) incentives to effort that can be offered to workers; (e) relations between workers and their immediate supervisors (Reinhalt-Jones, 1948)'. He then mentioned that work was being done by the National Institute of personnel Research (NIPR) under the direction of Dr Biesheuvel on these areas of research on the mines.

The second development was the growing interest of the universities in academic work on industry and the economy. In 1932, H.P. Pollak published her pioneering sociological study on Women in Witwatersrand Industries. This was followed by a number of other studies on the sociology of work. E. Batson was to begin his pioneering work on poverty during this period and the UCT School of Social Science was to publish numerous studies of the PDL. African trade unions became a matter of academic interest at this time. Writing from their perspective of active involvement in trade unions, Eddie Roux published Time Longer than Rope, and Kadalie, My Life and the ICU, in 1949. The first university-based study of unions was produced by H.G. Ringrose entitled Trade Unions in Natal (1956).

In 1932 the Report of the Carnegie Commission on the poor-White problem in South Africa was published. Within the Afrikaans universities the 'poor-White question' was to be the main area of focus, particularly after Dr Verwoerd was transferred to the Chair of Sociology and Social Work at the University of Stellenbosch in 1933.

A third development expressing the growth of social research in industry was the establishment in March 1946 of the National Bureau for Personnel Research (later the National Institute of Personnel Research, NIPR), as a division of a state-subsidized Council of Scientific and Industrial Research (SCIR). The initial preoccupations of the bureau were

research into problems of job evaluation and selection and training. Several of the early investigations were 'concerned with the important question of scientifically testing the aptitude of the native for industrial work both as an operative and in more responsible positions (CSIR Second Annual Report, 1946/7).' The third annual report of the CSIR in 1947/48 maintained that, due to the number of inquiries received and the increased research undertaken for both industry (under contract) and for government departments, it was evident that interest in personnel research was being sustained. In this period, industrial personnel research was confined to large undertakings such as ISCOR, the gold mines and the clothing industry. The battery of performance and selection tests used by the mines were systematically reformulated and improved and were extended in 1949 to include methods for the selection of artisans and European officials in the mines.

Nearly a third of the total social research done by the NIPR since 1946 has been on the selection and training of personnel. This is followed by studies on productivity and efficiency, job evaluation and classification, attitudes towards work and absenteeism and turnover. The first study undertaken on industrial relations was in 1977, the second in 1978. No study has been undertaken of trade unions or industrial conflict.

A fourth development in the 1940s was the emergence and growth of personnel management. In 1944, the demand in industry for 'welfare supervisors' and personnel managers provided the impulse to institute a postgraduate diploma in personnel welfare and management at Rhodes University. In 1948, the National Development and Management Foundation of South Africa was founded by Sir Ernest Oppenheimer with the object of helping all those involved in management functions, from the supervisor to

the managing director. Earlier, in 1945, Mrs I.H.B. White of the Leather
Research Institute at Rhodes University was instrumental in establishing
the Institute of Personnel Management.

We have suggested that the crisis of the 1940s, in particular the
growth of Black labour, was to provide the impetus for the growing
relationship between social science and industry as manifested through the
involvement of liberal reformers such as Rheinalt-Jones, the involvement of
the universities in research in industry, the establishment of the NIPR and
the emergence of personnel management. The dilemma facing the state and
capital can be succinctly stated :

> On the one hand it was believed that secondary industry required a
> more skilled, more contented worker, with lower job turnover and less
> incentive to malinger or sabotage the production process. This meant
> permanent urbanization for the manufacturing work force, at least. On
> the other hand such a work force could not but acquire the bargaining
> power to challenge the socio-political structures which sustained its
> comparative cheapness.

Faced by these challenges of the 1940s, two directions were open to
the state. The one was to settle the labour force in the urban areas,
allow certain rights such as controlled trade unions and improve production
in the 'reserves'. This was the path of liberal reform, particularly that
of manufacturing, ambiguously and inconsistently represented by the United
Party. The other was to try to stem the flow of Africans into the cities,
control labour relations through in-plant bargaining instead of trade
unions, control its rate and direction of absorption into industry through
influx control and labour bureaux, redirect labour to White agriculture and
then attempt to deal with the reserve problem. Legassick (1974) argues

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that the latter path is essentially what apartheid constitutes and this direction represented a political victory for a class alliance, in the form once again of Afrikaner nationalism, of White workers, capitalist agriculture, and the petty bourgeoisie. It was this class alliance which was to reject the Botha Commission's cautious proposals for recognition of African unions. In fact African trade unions had, by 1950, declined significantly and approximately sixty-six had become defunct.

While the late 1930s and 1940s produced boom conditions, these slackened to stagnation and even recession in the 1950s. During the 1950s, the Institute of Personnel Management actually experienced a decline in membership, although it picked up again in the late 1950s. It was at this time that Black workers experienced a new wave of militancy in the form of bus boycotts and stay-aways, on the one had, and the organization of Black workers into trade unions, on the other. C. Pearce in an address to the Institute of Personnel Management in 1958 made clear the importance of personnel management in monitoring this unrest when he said:

we have next to no knowledge of how and what our African employees are thinking...A discussion group with a number of sound African leaders proved most valuable during the period of the Alexandria bus boycott. This was an interesting experiment in joint consultation and a proof of its success was that we were in touch with African leadership, and with African thought and opinion, this at a time when other contact was virtually non-existent and at a period of lamentably bad relations and great hostility. (Personnel Management, No 1, 1958: 21).

However, in spite of these appeals to use personnel management skills, Lagenhoven (1975), was to note how little personnel management's skills were used with Black employees. He records that only 0.9 per cent of the

South African employers studied used psychological tests for the selection and placing of African workers, only 21.8 per cent inducted new Black workers and only 33.6 per cent kept records of their job performance.

Jubber (1979) explains the failure of employers to use personnel management's skills in these terms. First, he suggests that 'individual capabilities are of relatively little importance and the kinds of performance which pass for competence are easily achieved by almost anyone'. In other words, most African workers in the manufacturing sector are machine operators doing jobs which require very little skill. Secondly, 'the low average wage paid to Black workers implies that organizations can tolerate fairly low levels of individual competence without the overall competence of the organization being seriously affected'. And thirdly, 'the high rate of labour turnover in certain groups of black workers is cited by some managers as the reason for not inducting training or monitoring the performance of black workers'. In an earlier part of the same article, Jubber provides the clue to the stalled relationship which begins in the 1940s between industry and social science and only really takes off in the 1970s - a lack of an organized labour force.

By the 1960s the resurgence of African trade-union activity that characterized the late 1950s and early 1960s had been crushed. South Africa was to experience a decade of relative industrial peace. However, it was a decade in which the economy experienced a structural transformation through the massive influx of foreign capital, accelerated expansion of industry, and a corresponding growth of the African working

class, which brought African workers firmly to the centre of the industrial stage. Coupled with these changes was the restructuring of capital and the growing concentration and centralization of firms between the years 1969 and 1973. In particular, we see the growth of a semi-skilled Black labour force - the organizational base for industrial unionism.

From 1972 onwards, this pattern of industrial peace was to change dramatically. Faced by rapid inflation, 60,000 - 100,000 Black workers in Durban went on strike in February 1973. It was out of this wave of working-class militancy that five distinct Black union groupings of approximately 60,000 workers were to emerge in the 1970s. South Africa's townships were to experience a massive wave of internal unrest in 1976 culminating in the September stay-aways where nearly half a million participated.

It is in the context of this structural transformation of the economy and growing working-class organization, that social research into industry grew rapidly in the late 1960s and 1970s. In the heady atmosphere of boom conditions, the thesis that the logical imperative of industrialization will break down apartheid assumes widespread acceptance, and becomes the source of a major liberal/radical debate in the 1970s. Two other developments indicate the growing involvement of sociologists in industrial questions. First, there is the emergence of separate courses in industrial sociology at various universities.

The second development is the growing interest of the universities in research into industry. There are two types of institutes which have developed an interest in the study of industrial behaviour. First, there are those institutes, such as the Centre of Applied Social Studies, at the

University of Natal (Durban), which were set up in the 1950s, and have increasingly focussed on industrial questions in the 1970s. An analysis of the publication lists covering the period 1954 to 1978 reveals little research interest in industry, until 1973 when studies on managerial strategy, employment opportunities and race, organized labour and the African, the African worker, turnover, African occupation advancement, and the effects of economic growth, are published. The second category of research institutes are those set up in the 1970s, many to focus specifically on labour and industrial relations.

We quoted Foucault earlier to the effect that 'each one of the human sciences was occasioned by a problem'. We have suggested that the structural transformation of the South African economy, particularly the challenge of Black labour, is the occasion for the emergence and growth of social research into industry. But, continues Foucault, 'this may explain the set of circumstances that led to this focus, it cannot explain why the human sciences take the form they do' - this, he says, 'is an event in the order of knowledge'. It seems possible to select six different examples of the type of studies done in the 1970s as examples of 'events in the order of knowledge'.

In the first place, there are state-initiated studies, usually in the form of Commissions of Inquiry, which attempt to provide government with a solution to a problem arising in industry. The Wiehahn Commission, set up in part to control the emerging African trade-union movement, is the most recent of this type. These commissions tend to rely on academics and publications emerging from the more conservative universities.

The second type of research is that sponsored by management to investigate a specific problem. Jubber (1979) has argued that 'management

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in South Africa has never strongly supported industrial sociology, as has been the case in the United Kingdom and the United States'. Although he does not provide any specific evidence of this, an analysis of the budget allocation to the HSRC and the Human Resources Laboratory (HRL) of the Chamber of Mines, indicates a very low percentage of total research money spent on social research. In the case of the HSRC it averages 7 per cent between 1975 and 1978 and in the case of HRL about 14 per cent of the total research budget. What is clear is that the bulk of money went into technical research, in particular, in the case of the Chamber of Mines, in attempts to restructure the labour process through mechanization.

The third type of research into industry could be loosely labelled interactionist because of the emphasis on the participant's perception of events. Gordon's Life in a Namibian Compound (1977) describes how Blacks cope with the alien and hostile environment of the compound. African workers, he says, develop two distinct social worlds. One is a private or enclave culture, which is located in the interstices of the formal organizational structure and grounded in the compound. This private culture, of which the White supervisors are largely unaware, is analysed under the blanket term of Brotherhood. The second social world of the Black workers is the one in which the Black has to interact with the Whites.

The fourth category of research, 'structural-functionalist perspective', is possibly best illustrated by S.P. Cillier's study of absenteeism in a Cape industry. Defining absenteeism as 'a form of deviant industrial behaviour which occurs when individuals or groups in the organization act contrary to the terms of the formal structure and goal of the organization', and using a rigorous methodology, he undertook a

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three-phase study. In the third phase he argues that

it was found that while absence and labour turnover are generally

regarded as forms of deviant industrial behaviour, no direct

relationship could be established in its incidence. Further analyses

showed that absenteeism among this category of workers is primarily a

function of factors outside the work place. Yet organization practice

cannot be disregarded since a definite relationship was established

between absentee rates, and the level of worker satisfaction,

attractivness of work and relationship with superiors on the other

hand (1979: 229).

The fifth category can be illustrated by the IIE book The Durban

Strikes 1973. While radical in the sense of locating its critique of

capitalism in terms of the inequality of power relationships, it presents,

in the last chapter, a 'reformist' solution. In the chapter dealing with

the creation of a labour supply and the legitimization of authority, it

draws on largely conventional historiographical and sociological

literature. No attempt is made to develop a systematic Marxist analysis.

The South African Labour Bulletin could possibly be similarly classified.

The final category is that of studies done clearly within the

framework of historical materialism. In large part these do not deal with

contemporary South Africa but the recent study of The Mozambique Miner by

the University of Maputo is one of the exceptions. Concerned essentially

with the export of labour from the three southern provinces of Mozambique

to South Africa mines, it focuses on two central issues. First, in the

attempt on the part of the mines to establish a more stable labour force,

partly through mechanization, WENELA is increasingly pursuing a recruitment

strategy that excludes novices and only recruits holders of the

re-engagement certificate or bonus cards. This, it is argued, must be understood in the context of the Chamber of Mines 'policy of maximising the number of labour supplier states around South Africa and of distributing the demand for foreign labour across them'. Its second focus is on the degree of penetration of mining capital in these three provinces.

The fifth and sixth categories of research share two characteristics in common. In the first place, they both involve attempts to apply a class analysis to South African society. In the second place, they both attempt to link their class analysis to organization - in the cast of The Durban Strikes 1973 the last chapter makes a case for trade unions for all industrial workers, while The Mozambique Miner laid the basis for a strategy of rural development among peasant-workers in southern Mozambique.

What effect does apartheid have on social research into industry in South Africa? For the President of the HSRC (known until 1968 as the National Council of Social Research and the central state body concerned with funding and directing social research) this question has a simple answer:'...in the Republic social science research is not a dogma super-imposed from above as an instrument of national policy; the aim of the HSRC is to encourage and stimulate research in the social sciences by free and independent scholars... (HSRC First Annual Report, 1969/70).' While it may be true that the state has not attempted to impose directly an apartheid view of social research on the universities, it has been widely argued that the effect of South Africa's racist structures and governmental policy is to compound the biases inherent in industrial research in a capitalist society in at least two ways:

a. by encouraging social scientists to develop separate theories for
    Black and White industrial behaviour that take as given the social
    structure, they legitimize and reproduce intentionally or
    unintentionally, apartheid;

b. through direct or indirect pressure make it difficult, if not
    virtually impossible, to undertake research in controversial areas.

The first criticism seems to be the thrust of Gerd Wiendieck's
critique of the attempt by industrial psychology to develop a theory of
Black motivation:

> The theories of industrial psychology also reflect a capitalist bias,
> since managerial philosophies are capitalist philosophies in most
> western countries. South African industrial psychology reveals the
> same biases, but here the most general biases are compounded by those
> arising from the racist structures in this society. Given the fact
> that South Africa is an apartheid society, the South African
> industrial pscyhologist is solicited into producing motivation
> theories for racial groupings, because the society dictates that the
> various race groups may not be motivated in terms of the same
> opportunities for development, promotion, self-expression,
> renumeration, security, achievement, self-determination and so forth
> (1979: 232).

A more direct example of research within the framework of apartheid is
that undertaken by the institutes of the HSRC. Of particular relevance to
our topic is the Institute of Manpower Research. An analysis of their
publications since 1969 reveals that 23 per cent of their research
publications that deal with industrial behaviour focus on employment
opportunities in the homelands and border areas.

The second area in which apartheid affects social research is through the difficulties experienced by social scientists in doing 'controversial' research. Four arguments have been put forward.

The first is that the HSRC may prefer to allocate funds to non-controversial research. Welsh (1979) argues that the Advisory Committees, which recommend funding of research projects, are 'numerically dominated by academics from conservative institutions. No blacks serve on any of the committees and nor, indeed, are black universities represented (p. 391)'. Furthermore, 'it is believed by some scholars that the HSRC accords preferential treatment to those research projects that do not impinge upon controversial areas (p. 392)'.

Although Welsh makes it clear that it is not possible to confirm or deny the validity of these feelings, 'those who make this assertion do so emphatically and cite examples of refusals in support (p. 392).' Hammond-Tooke (1970) feels that 'it has not been too difficult to obtain research funds and some important work has been done under the auspices of the Council, for example Mayers' well-known work on migrancy and urbanization'. However he does add the rider that difficulties sometimes arise in publishing material if the findings do not meet with the Council's approval.

An analysis of the Advisory Committee for 1977, bears out Welsh's argument that they tend to be numerically dominated by academics from the conservative universities. Furthermore, an analysis of research money granted in the field of industrial research, reported in the HSRC bulletin, does not indicate any obvious direction and quite likely represents the sort of interests held by postgraduate researchers at the universities. However, ultimately, such an analysis would not be able to prove that bias

did not exist, as those who fear discrimination may simply not apply for funds in the first place.

Secondly, research into controversial areas is made difficult by the hierarchic structure of society which leads the subordinate groups to structure their communication with the superordinate groups in such a way as not to antagonize them. On the other hand, racial tension is such that one may well experience sharp hostility from respondents to being interviewed. Webster and Kuzwayo (1977) record a high refusal rate in their survey among African workers in Durban, because fear and suspicion in the townships aggravated the feeling that the interviewer was involved in the feud between Buthlezi and a cabinet colleague.

Thirdly, it is argued that research on controversial areas is controlled by the government through the requirement that scholars who wish to conduct research in the African reserves must first obtain a permit from the relevant government department. Hammond-Tooke (1970) writes that

permits are necessary for entrance to non-white areas and can be summarily withdrawn with no reasons given. One suspects that reasons for withdrawing permits are in some cases trivial and in some cases based on the information or opinion of some petty local official. The general effect of the uncertainty is to force the research worker to 'play it safe', either by selecting as politically neutral topics as possible, or by failing to push his interaction with the people or questioning as far as he should. This uncertainty also affects publication of results - there is a danger that if a report is published which criticises government policy either implicitly or explicitly, further field-work facilities will be withdrawn.

A final but crucial area is the discouragement of research through

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prosecutions, detentions, deportations, banning, withdrawal of passports, censorship and suppression of vital information and statistics. In 1971, Dr Barend Van Niekerk was charged with contempt of court for two article he had published in the South African Law Journal suggesting a racial bias in the number of cases of capital punishment. In 1977, David Russell was sentenced to three months imprisonment for refusing to divulge the names of three people who made statements to him for his publication The Role of the Riot Police and the Suppression of Truth. Tione Eggenhuizen was deported shortly after the publication of Another Blanket, a sharply critical study of compounds in Anglo-American mines in late 1975. Clearly research into political attitudes can be a hazardous task. Welsh (1979) describes several cases where security police have tailed research workers and subsequently questioned informants. 'This is naturally intimidating both to investigator and investigated, the former fearing that the information he has obtained could land his informant into trouble, and the latter fearing that the information could be prised out of the investigator' (see note 1 - Eds).

It is in the banning of books and journals dealing with controversial subjects that the state's disapproval or discouragement of research activities of a potentially controversial kind is made clear. In giving reasons for the banning of an edition of the South African Labour Bulletin, the Directorate of Publications submitted that 'any article advancing the application of Marxist theory to South African black labour problems, however academically it may be done, could be furthering the aims of communism. To do so is a statuary crime in South Africa'. The Publications Appeal Board, in giving reasons as to why it believed the journal 'was prejudicial to the safety of the state, the general welfare of

the peace and good order' said 'dozens of examples of illegal strikes appear in the publication, yet these strikes are nowhere condemned. If a paper serves an educational purpose, it should consistently oppose, deprecate and condemn these illegal and often criminal operations'.

Research into, and publication of, information of a critical nature relating to the Defence Force, the Department of Prisons, the Police, as well as foreign investment, is made extremely difficult by legislation. Publication without ministerial authority of any statement, comment or rumour relating to any member or activity of the Defence Force which is 'calculated to prejudice or embarrass the government in its foreign relations or to alarm or depress members of the public', constitutes a criminal offence. The Prisons Act makes it a criminal offence to publish false information about prisons without taking reasonable steps to verify the information. Since neither the legislators nor the courts have spelled out what the words 'reasonable steps' mean, a great deal of uncertainty exists.

The recent amendment to the Police Act similarly makes it an offence to publish 'any matter' about the police 'without having reasonable grounds for believing that the statement is true'. The wording of Section 2 (2)f of the Terrorism Act, which carried a mandatory five-year gaol sentence, could be read to mean that, for example, a study of the role of foreign investment in South Africa that recommended disengagement was an offence. This is certainly the fear among scholars and has led some to avoid this area of research.

The effect of apartheid on social research will remain a matter of controversy. On the one hand, we see the bland optimism of Henry Lever when he concludes that 'the impediments to social research in South Africa

are not very great. South African sociologists are far freer to pose
controversial questions than their colleagues in...most African countries
and have fewer restrictions placed on their choice of topics or on the
manner in which they are discussed'. On the other hand, there is the
cautious optimism of David Welsh: 'There are ways around most, if not all
problems; but the investigator's ingenuity and resourcefulness may often
be taxed to the limit. Social research, it seems to me, is the art of the
impossible; it can be done even in the most hostile of environments (p.
398).' What is clear is that, for any sociologist who wantsto do beyond a
sociological analysis, from a liberal, and certainly from a radical or
Marxist perspective, to link up with practical activity, South Africa can
become a very dangerous society. The banning of sociologists such as
Richard Turner, Fatima Meer, Loet Douws-Decker, Charles Simkins, Mary
Simons and Jack Simons is evidence for this assertion. Similarly, the
director of The Mozambique Miner, Ruth First, is in exile and, as a listed
'communist', her work may not be published inside South Africa. (see note 2
- Eds).

The pressures on South African sociologists to serve apartheid are
likely to increase in the unfolding of 'total strategy' as expressed by
P.W. Botha. In the 1977 White Paper, he wrote that

the process of ensuring and maintaining the sovereignty of a state's
authority in a conflict situation has, through the evolution of
warfare, shifted from a purely military to an integrated national
action : the resolution of conflict in the times in which we now live
demands interdependent and coordinated action in all fields -
military, pscyhological, economic, political, sociological, technical,
diplomatic, ideological, cultural, etc. Germany had already realised

this before World War II, and Russia has maintained a

multi-dimensional campaign against the West since this war.

Consequently we are today involved in a war, whether we wish to accept

it or not (quoted in <u>Work in Progress</u>, Number 8, May 1978, p 5).

Faced by the crisis of the 1970s, the apartheid state is finding it

increasingly necessary to mobilise social scientists to serve apartheid.

Similarly the strategy of capital is now becoming clearer. Harry

Oppenheimer expressed this best when, at the 1979 annual conference of the

South African Institute of Race Relations, he called on liberal

institutions to move away from 'the politics of protest to the politics of

power'. He goes on to suggest that 'all liberal institutions must examine

how they can become more directly and positively engaged in promoting and

encouraging the process of change which is now underway in South Africa'.

The initiative by H.F. Oppenheimer and Anton Rupert, in November 1976, in

establishing the Urban Foundation, with the clear objectives of creating

a 'black middle class' illustrates this strategy.

The response of university social scientists to P.W. Botha's 'total

strategy' and Oppenheimer's call to encourage 'evolutionary change' is not

yet clear. However, constrained in direct and indirect ways to avoid

controversial areas of research, most sociologists will be tempted to take

advantage of the money and access offered to do research to assist capital

and the state in their new strategy of limited 'reform'. Increasingly, the

social scientific community will find it difficult to avoid 'taking sides'

in the wider ideological debate surrounding the form and nature of change

in South Africa. Influenced by the growing presence of the liberation

movements in Southern Africa, university social science departments will

increasingly become areas of ideological debate.

Editors' Notes:

1. The interested reader is referred to the article by Mike Savage in
    Pyschology in Society, Number 1, 1983.

2. Richard Turner and Ruth First were assasinated subsequent to the date
    of the original writing of this article.

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